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## EDITORIAL

*Annual General Meeting.* This was held at the Newman Centre, 31 Portman Square, London, W.1, on January 1st at 6 p.m. There were present Mgr Barton (Chairman), Dr Leahy, Fr Foster, Dom B. Orchard, Mr R. A. Dean, and Dr Fuller (Hon. Secretary), members of the Committee, together with a rather small number of members of the Association. The Secretary read his report and this was formally adopted. The Financial Report which was read in the absence of the Treasurer, was proposed by Mr R. A. Dean, seconded by Rev. H. Hill and adopted by the meeting. The Balance Sheet should be ready for publication in the April number of SCRIPTURE. Miss Kathleen Kenny was formally proposed as Hon. Treasurer, in succession to Mr L. H. Thwaytes, by Mr R. W. Richardson and seconded by Mr M. C. Lacey. The publication of *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* was discussed and it was thought that good sales might be expected. It was hoped that publication of the Douay Version of the Bible would be continued as this would be helpful in using the new Commentary. Several members expressed the hope that Grade III of *Old Testament for Schools* would soon be ready as it was badly needed. The meeting was also of the opinion that a committee should be formed soon to produce a New Testament series of commentaries for the higher forms of schools. The Secretary said that the profits from the Commentary (a proportion of which would come to the Association) would enable us to publish our own booklets. An arrangement might then be come to with the Catholic Truth Society as regards distribution. After the General Meeting, Mgr Barton read a paper on the *Ecole Biblique* of the Dominican Fathers in Jerusalem. After this, members were able to inspect a complete set of page proofs of the Commentary.

*Special Announcement.* The Editor is now able to say that an agreement has been made with Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons of Edinburgh (the publishers of our Commentary) whereby they will publish our Quarterly SCRIPTURE as from July number of this year inclusive.

## GENESIS CHAPTER I AND THE CREATION MYTH

EVER since the discovery of the Babylonian myth of creation, called from its opening words *Enuma Elish*,<sup>1</sup> its similarity to the inspired account of Genesis has been recognized. Briefly, the story is this. In the beginning there is only chaos, with the deities Apsu and Tiamat, from whom other gods are then born. Conflict breaks out between parents and children; Apsu is killed and Tiamat threatens to destroy all the gods in revenge. They call on Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon, to champion their cause, and Tiamat raises up a brood of monsters, 'the viper, serpent, hound', etc., figures from the Babylonian system of constellations. In the battle which follows Marduk is victorious; he kills Tiamat, uses her body to make the sky, and chains her allies there as constellations.

In Genesis, too, the state which precedes creation is described as a watery chaos; and some have even seen in the Hebrew word used for 'deep' (Tehom) the equivalent of the Babylonian Tiamat.<sup>2</sup> But far more striking are the passages which echo the idea that creation is the result of a conflict in which chaos is subdued. And first of all, Job xxvi. Although there is some confusion in the text in this section, v. 5 onwards certainly describes God's power in creation: how He 'hung the earth upon nothing . . . set bounds to the waters'. But vv. 12 and 13 read: 'By His strength He cleaved the sea, by His wisdom He struck Rahab; His breath made beautiful the sky, His hand pierced the fleeing serpent'.<sup>3</sup> Leaving aside Rahab for the moment, it is difficult to see what sense the reference to the striking of the serpent could have in such a context, if we do not bear in mind the Babylonian story, where the serpent is one of the allies of Tiamat. (It is interesting to find that the defeat of the sea-serpent is an idea which occurs in Egyptian literature also, in connexion with creation. Canaanite literature also knows a similar legend: 'Thou didst smite Lotan—Leviathan—the crooked serpent'; but the context is not known).<sup>4</sup> Similarly in Job vii, 12, Job complains to God: 'Am I the Sea, or the Dragon, that you have imprisoned me'; and the same figure of imprisonment is used in Job xxxviii, 8, again

<sup>1</sup> A translation of the text is to be found in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ANET), ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1950: pp. 60–72. A translation and study of it is given by S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see that A. Heidel in the second edition of his *Babylonian Genesis*, Chicago, 1951, now denies the equation Tehom–Tiamat.

<sup>3</sup> I have translated from the Hebrew in this passage and in others where the Vulgate does not bring out the meaning sufficiently clearly.

<sup>4</sup> For the Egyptian texts, see ANET, pp. 6–7, 11–12. For the Canaanite reference, see C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome, 1949: p. 38, Text 67, 1, 1,

with reference to God's creation: 'Who shut up the sea in gates . . .' In these last two, the mythological reference is not necessary for the understanding of the passage, but seems probable.

In Job xxvi, 12, we have seen a reference to a sea monster named Rahab. The same beast, along with the dragon of Job vii, 12, appears in Isaiah li, 9. The author calls on God to show His strength, as He did in olden days, when He 'struck Rahab, and defeated the dragon'. The same is mentioned in Job ix, 13, in a way which recalls even more clearly the Babylonian story: 'God does not withhold His wrath; beneath Him are prostrate the helpers of Rahab'. But a complication enters in here. In Hebrew the word 'rahab' means turbulent, proud; and therefore besides meaning the turbulent sea or sea-monster, it can be used as an epithet, 'the proud one'. Now by a mixture of both ideas, the word is used as an epithet, almost a proper name, for Egypt, the turbulent nation lying like a sea-serpent beside her river. Psalm 86, 4 clearly uses it, in this sense, of Egypt: 'I will number Rahab and Babylon among my worshippers, Philistia, Tyre' and other nations. Now in Isaiah xxvii, 1 we get a similar admixture of ideas. 'In that day, God will punish . . . Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the writhing serpent, will kill the dragon that is in the depths of the sea.' Clearly there is a suggestion of our theme here; but the context makes it clear that the immediate reference is to God defeating the enemies of Israel. This suggests two comments to us. First, we note that a borrowing of terminology does not necessarily mean borrowing of concepts; not that there could, in any case, be any question of acceptance of mythology by the Bible; but that whereas phrases and ideas from mythology are sometimes taken out of their false context and applied to God in a true context (it is God who is Creator, not Marduk or Baal, and one might describe His creation as victory over the joint forces of chaos), sometimes on the other hand, the phrases are borrowed but applied to quite a different context—they become detached more and more from their parent story in the process of transmission. The second point we note is that Egypt finds itself caught in a semantic tangle between God's power to create and God's power to deliver. We see it in Isaiah li, 9; after the verse quoted above, where God is called to show His strength, as He did when He destroyed Rahab and the dragon, v. 10 goes on with a clear reference to the liberation from Egypt: '. . . made the sea a road so that the delivered people may cross over'. In Psalm lxxiii, 13, 14 we meet another example of the same duality of thought: 'By thy strength thou didst split the sea, broke the heads of the dragon of the ocean; thou hast broken the heads of leviathan . . .' The reference to deliverance from Egypt would fit; but so would the idea of victory over primal ocean in creation—v. 16 says: 'Thine is the day, thine is the night, Thou has made the morning light and the sun'. This connexion between

creation and salvation seems to be more than merely coincidental; but since it would lead us too far, we must leave it as a suggestion.

In *Enuma Elish*, Marduk follows up his victory by using Tiamat in creation. He 'split her into two parts, like an oyster', and with one half made the heavens, with the other (presumably, though the text does not say so explicitly) he made the earth; and then set watchmen with orders not to let her waters flow forth. Genesis contains a similar conception: God divides the waters and sets a firmament above to keep the upper waters in place, and sets earth on the lower waters. This is also an idea which is often found in the Bible: 'I have set a limit to the sea, that it should not pass over' (cf. Jer. v, 22; Ps. ciii, 6ff, etc.). As long as God's protecting hand is on the subdued ocean, its waters are beneficent, as in the case of the waters which flow from the right side of the temple in Ez. xlvii, 1ff; if He lets them loose, as in the flood when He opened the sluice gates of heaven above and the springs of the ocean beneath, it is a return to the primitive chaos, an undoing of the work of creation.

In the body of Tiamat which now forms the heavens, Marduk sets sun and moon and stars to act as signs of the seasons. The same idea of the function of the heavenly bodies is expressed in the Bible (Gen. i, 14-18; cf. Ps. ciii, 19ff; Ps. cxxxv, 7-9). But, further, it appears that for the Babylonians these stars are gods: 'He constructed stations for the great gods, the stars their likeness he fixed'.<sup>5</sup> Now it seems that something of the same idea—heavenly beings who rule and direct men—is present to the Hebrew mind also; or at least that they use terminology affected by such a concept. Psalms lviii and lxxxi suggest this idea—they complain about 'judges', rulers, who have been lacking in their duty; and these rulers are 'sons of God', have their place in the heavenly court. And the connexion of such beings with the heavenly bodies can be seen from Deuteronomy. Moses warns the people of the punishment which will come upon them if 'they served strange gods and adored them whom they knew not, and for whom they had not been assigned' (Deut. xxix, 26); as if God allows other nations to adore other gods, but gives Israel the privilege of knowing and adoring Him. Compare Deut. iv, 19: Beware of images, says Moses, 'lest you should lift up your eyes and see the sun and moon and stars, and should fall into the error of adoring and serving them; whereas God made them

<sup>5</sup> Tablet V, 1, 2. This tablet is extremely defective. One may note in passing, however, that even where the text is complete, the thought is certainly incoherent. In the Babylonian original story, no doubt this is to be explained partly by the fact that the poem is primarily a ritual, and only secondarily a cosmogony. The inconsistencies in the Bible references are more easily understandable, since the inspired authors are not at all concerned with relating the myth in its original form, but are merely using language which is coloured by it.

to be served by other nations', but has kept Israel for Himself. The idea is not impossible; until God was ready to reveal Himself to the whole world, He may well have allowed the mistaken form of natural religion which refers worship to the most wonderful of God's manifestation of Himself, in the heavenly bodies. This is the view taken by Clement of Alexandria: this was permitted lest they should become entirely godless and corrupt, and as a means by which they could rise to God.<sup>6</sup> This idea, then, may cast light on such passages as Is. xxiv, which describes God's judgement on the earth, ending up (vv. 21-23): 'The Lord will punish the host of heaven on high and the kings of the earth below . . . the moon shall blush, the sun shall be ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in Sion'. In God's good time, He will put an end to the dominion of the false gods which are the sun and moon, and to the rule of the kings of earth who have served them, and will reveal Himself as the one true God of all the world. And again in Is. xxiv, 2-4, God's power over the earth is paralleled by His sway over heaven: 'The indignation of the Lord is upon all the nations . . . and all the host of heaven shall pine away'. No doubt it was this idea which led up to the concept of Daniel, that each nation has an angel which looks after its interests (cf. Dan. x, 13, 20, 21; and xii, 1); and ultimately to the idea of guardian angels.

There will be no need to repeat that there is not in this any implication of the existence of mythological teaching in the Bible. An inspired author cannot possibly teach what is false. But he can—must, even—express the truth in a way which is familiar to himself and his hearers, using the expressions and literary forms of his day. 'It is absolutely necessary for the interpreter to go back in spirit to those remote centuries of the East . . . in order to discover what literary forms the writers of that early age intended to use . . . The Sacred Books need not exclude any of the forms of expression which were commonly used by the ancient peoples . . . For just as the substantial Word of God became like man in all things "without sin", so the words of God expressed in human language became in all things like to human speech, except error'.<sup>7</sup> And one who wants to understand God's word as fully as possible will want his ear to be attuned as carefully as possible to every modulation of the instrument which expresses it.

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<sup>6</sup> Clem. Al., quoted by Driver, *Deuteronomy*, International Crit. Comm. 1902.

<sup>7</sup> *Divino Afflante*: C.T.S., translation, paras: 39-41.

## THE CELEBRATIONS IN SOUTH INDIA IN HONOUR OF ST THOMAS AND ST FRANCIS XAVIER

**T**HE CELEBRATIONS in India to commemorate the nineteenth centenary of the coming of St Thomas the Apostle and the fourth centenary of the death of St Francis Xavier took place at Ernakulam. It is a big city and business centre on the west coast of Southern India, facing the beautiful harbour of Cochin. There are several educational institutions and Catholic churches in the city, and the metropolitans of the two hierarchies—Latin and Syrian—have their residences there. Though other religious communities are numerically strong, the Catholics wield a great influence in the city. Ernakulam had the rare privilege of witnessing both St Thomas and St Francis and hearing from them the message of Christ.

Cardinal Norman Thomas Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney, presided over the centenary celebrations as Papal Legate. On 28th December at 8 p.m., he arrived at Ernakulam in a special train, and was received at the railway station by His Grace the Most Rev. Joseph Attipetty, PH.D., D.D., Archbishop of Verapoly and His Grace, the Most Rev. Augustine Kandathil, D.D., Archbishop of Ernakulam. Several bishops from other parts of India were also present. Over a thousand priests took part in the reception. Thousands of religious of both sexes came to attend the celebrations. Over a million of laity thronged to witness the function, and among them several thousands of non-Catholics also were included. The Cardinal went in procession to the Herbert grounds, where the celebrations were held, and was there given a civic reception. The Municipal Chairman read and presented an address on the part of the public of Ernakulam. The Archbishop of Ernakulam gave another address on the part of the Catholics of Malabar. The Cardinal in his speech said, among other things, that he was very much impressed by the living faith of the Catholics of Malabar. At the end of the speech he declared open the National Eucharistic Congress. With that the functions of the day closed.

On the 29th, Pontifical High Mass was sung in the Syro-Malabar Rite by His Excellency, Mar Savarios, the bishop of Tiruvalla. After the Mass several meetings were held at different centres presided over by different bishops to discuss the various problems facing the Catholic Church in Independent India.

On the 30th, Pontifical High Mass was sung by His Excellency, Mar Mathew Kavukatt, the bishop of Changanachery in the Syro-Chaldaic



Rite. After Mass meetings were again held to continue the discussions of the previous day.

On the 31st, the Papal Legate sang the Pontifical High Mass. The Eucharistic procession in the evening of the same day was the crowning event of the centenary celebrations. The procession started from the church of the Carmelite fathers which is a mile away from the grounds. The roads along which the procession was to go were decorated in the papal colours. The festoons and the hangings overhead danced in the evening breeze and paid their mute homage to the Eucharistic Lord. The evening sun shed its golden rays. At the head of the procession were golden and silver crosses, together with multi-coloured silk umbrellas. Then came the members of pious associations and the religious of different congregations in their colourful and attractive dresses. Thousands of priests holding lighted tapers in their hands followed them. The bishops in their royal purple dress walked behind the priests. It was indeed a royal procession. Huge crowds lined up along the road to see the triumphal march of the Eucharistic King. At last came the car carrying the Blessed Sacrament. The Papal Legate and his assistants knelt in the car. The procession moved slowly to the accompaniment of hymns and prayers, starting from the church at 3.30 p.m., and reaching the grounds at 6.30 p.m. The Papal Legate gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

After Benediction, the Cardinal was thanked by His Grace, the Archbishop of Verapoly. In the concluding speech the Papal Legate was visibly moved, and expressed his gratitude for the great honour paid to him. The celebrations closed with the broadcast speech of His Holiness the Pope. Among other things the Holy Father said that the Catholics of Malabar should be proud to call themselves "St Thomas' Christians." Though they might be of different rites they should work together in a spirit of unity. Catholics should take a leading part in the formation of the new Indian state.

A word or two about St Thomas the apostle, the central figure of the centenary celebrations, will be of interest. I just mention below the traditions of the Catholics of Malabar, leaving out all disputed points.

It is believed that St Thomas the apostle came to India in A.D. 52. He landed at the port of Cranganore, which was an important harbour in those days and was known by the name Mussiri. Pliny makes mention of it. Rome, Greece and other European countries were trading with Cranganore. Pepper, pearls, ivory and other things were exported from this harbour.

The king, who ruled Malabar in those days was very tolerant. His capital was Cranganore, and he allowed every religious sect full freedom of worship. Some of the Jews, who were expelled from Babylon about 5 B.C., came to Cranganore and were allowed to settle down

somewhere near this town. The descendants of these Jews are still seen in Cochin.

It is believed that St Thomas came to Cranganore in the company of a Jewish compatriot, who had been to Jerusalem and was returning to his country of adoption. The religious-minded king gave the apostle permission to preach the Gospel in his kingdom. Like the other apostles, St Thomas also may have preached to his brethren in their synagogue and made converts among them. Then he went to the Hindus. Many Hindus, including some of the princes of the royal family, received baptism from his hands. He built a church for the small Christian community at Cranganore. Then he went to evangelize other parts of Malabar. It is the tradition among the Christians of Malabar that St Thomas built seven churches there, but practically nothing is left of these. In some places even the site is not known.

In A.D. 68 or A.D. 72 St Thomas suffered martyrdom. A bigoted Hindu pierced him with a lance while he was praying on the mountain at Mylapore, now known as St Thomas' Mount, on the east coast of India. The king hearing of it, had his sacred remains buried there. After several years the bones of the apostle were removed to Edessa in Syria. From there during the Mohammedan invasion the relics were transferred to Ortona in Italy, where they are venerated to this day.

"St Thomas' Christians" of Malabar and other Eastern churches celebrate the feast of St Thomas on 3rd July. They believe that the apostle was martyred on that day. Catholics of the Latin rite all over the world celebrate the feast on 21st December.

The community in Malabar, calling themselves "St Thomas' Christians", claim that they are the descendants of the converts of St Thomas the apostle. They say that St Thomas converted only caste Hindus and naturally they come from that stock. They are also known as Syrian Christians. They look down upon the Latin Christians; and long and hot discussions on this point have taken place at the expense of fraternal charity. Now it has become a sore point. Everybody thought that the combined celebrations of St Thomas and St Francis Xavier would help to heal the breach. But unhappily it is not so. These "St Thomas' Christians" do not realize that the kingdom of God is not of flesh and blood, and that everybody who is baptized, whether bond or free, Roman or Greek, belongs to the mystical body of Christ. This disunity and these petty quarrels are a great hindrance to the spread of the kingdom of Christ in India, and are a scandal to non-Christians. Would that St Thomas and St Francis Xavier might bring them to an end.

A MISSIONARY.



## TRACES OF THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES IN THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL

THE qualities of a good historian which characterized the unknown author of the First Book of Maccabees, and the undoubted merits of his work seemed to guarantee that the history of the Maccabean Revolt would survive for long, and would furnish material for the study of the conditions then prevailing in Judaea and in the south of Seleucia in the second century B.C.

When, however, the Pharisees had forgotten the Maccabean heroes and neglected the history of their efforts (I Maccabees), it might have been feared that the work would perish in spite of the merits which distinguished it. It was moreover written in Hebrew, a knowledge of which was rather rare in the ancient world. Yet it was saved. It was translated into Greek by the Hellenist Jews, probably in Alexandria, and included in their canon of sacred books. The Church took it over as a religious work, and together with other books of Holy Scripture, had it copied and made known.

When searching for the earliest traces of a knowledge of the Books of Maccabees in ancient literature, we come across some quotations in St Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> and St Hippolytus.<sup>2</sup>

Josephus Flavius also, in Books 12 and 13 of his *Antiquities*, took much material from I Maccabees, very often repeating what is there given with only slight alterations. Later, however, from the time of the appearance of the book shortly after the death of Simon Maccabeus in 135 B.C.<sup>3</sup> till the writing of the Jewish *Antiquities* by Josephus Flavius in Rome, i.e. till the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Domitian in A.D. 93-4, we have no evidence to prove that the book was known. It seems, however, that traces of a knowledge of I Maccabees are to be found in St Paul's epistles, and if so, the period mentioned above would be shortened by about forty years.

The often-repeated phrase in St Paul, *καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην*<sup>4</sup>, which occurs in I Maccabees,<sup>5</sup> is rather a quotation from the Book of Genesis<sup>6</sup> both in I Maccabees and in St Paul's epistles. It cannot therefore be considered as an indication that St Paul made use of I Maccabees.

<sup>1</sup> *Stromata* I ; 21, 123, P.G., 9, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm.* 32, P.G., 10, 661.

<sup>3</sup> F. Gryglewicz, *Paradoxes of the First Book of Maccabees*, *SCRIPTURE*, IV, 1950, 199 n.

<sup>4</sup> Romans iv, 3, 9, 22, 23. Galatians iii, 6. James ii, 23.

<sup>5</sup> I Macc. ii, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Genesis xv, 6.

Among the documents, however, given in I Macc. is the verbatim text of the letter of Jonathan Maccabeus to the Spartans. The purpose of this letter is the renewal of friendship between the two peoples. Jonathan assures the Spartans that it is not military aid that he seeks, for 'we would not be troublesome to you, nor to the rest of our allies' and friends, in these wars. For we have had help from heaven.<sup>7</sup>

No other necessity moreover compels them to renew their friendship. In all needs 'we . . . (have) for our comfort the holy books that are in our hands'.<sup>8</sup> As the friendship had been formed long before when Ares I was king of Sparta (309-265 B.C.) and Onias I was Archpriest of Jerusalem (322-300 B.C.), it had lapsed, and the Jews were reminded of it only by documents. They thought it proper therefore 'to send to you (the Spartans) to renew the brotherhood and friendship, lest we should become strangers to you altogether'.<sup>9</sup> Jonathan then assures them: 'We, therefore, at all times without ceasing, both in our festivals, and other days wherein it is convenient, remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our observances, as it is meet and becoming to remember brethren.'<sup>10</sup>

Jonathan's very assurance of prayers for the Spartans must have stuck in St Paul's memory, as the assurances of prayers for the friends to whom he addresses his epistles are expressed in almost the same words as those used by the author of I Maccabees. At the beginning of his first epistle to the Thessalonians, St Paul assures them that he always makes mention of them in his prayers and thanks God for them all. He remembers, without ceasing, their work of faith and labour of love, and patience of hope.<sup>11</sup>

This phrase in the Greek text recalls that of Jonathan in the letter to the Spartans. Both letters speak of prayers, using the same word προσευχαί. Both letters make assurance of remembrance, with this difference that I Maccabees uses the word μνησκόμεθα, which is seldom used by St Paul, who substitutes two expressions that are phonetically very much akin to the word, namely μνημονεύοντες and the descriptive μνείαν ποιοῦμενοι. Finally, the assurance of the unceasing remembrance in prayers is based on the consecutive synonymous expressions in I Macc. ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ and ἀδιαλείπτως, where St Paul changes ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ (the literal translation of the Hebrew b'kol 'eth for the more frequently used παντοῦτε although this was later condemned by the Atticists, Phrynichus<sup>12</sup> and Moeris.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> I Macc. xii, 14-15.

<sup>8</sup> I Macc. xii, 10.

<sup>9</sup> I Macc. xii, 10.

<sup>10</sup> I Macc. xii, 11.

<sup>11</sup> I Thess. i, 2.

<sup>12</sup> W. G. Rutherford, London, 1881, No. 82.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. J. Pierson, Leyden, 1759, p. 139 P.

The assurance of prayers, with which St Paul begins his first epistle, is repeated in his other letters, each instance being characterized by the use of words which we remember in the letter of Jonathan in I Macc. At the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, after introducing himself to readers personally unknown to him, and who were famed for their deep faith, St Paul acknowledges, 'For God is my witness . . . that without ceasing I make a commemoration of you, always, in my prayers, making request . . .'<sup>14</sup> At the beginning of the Epistle to the Ephesians St Paul writes that he ceases not to give thanks for them, making commemoration of them in his prayers.<sup>15</sup>

To Philemon also he makes assurance at the beginning of his epistle, 'I give thanks to my God, making commemoration of thee in my prayers'.<sup>16</sup> Finally, in prison, he writes to Timothy that without ceasing he has a remembrance of him in his prayers, night and day.<sup>17</sup>

In all these places, apart from the same subject matter which in both I Macc. and St Paul requires the use of the same phrase ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς or ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου and μνησκόμεθα ὑμῶν μνησθαι ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι the word πάντοτε is constantly repeated, and also the word, seldom met with, ἀδιαλείπτως<sup>18</sup>. Especially striking, however, is the use of both the first and the second of the words under discussion in the same sentence in I Macc. and also in St Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Romans, although the words are differentiated by only a fine shade of meaning, and their juxtaposition is not necessitated by the contents. The author of I Macc. placed the words one immediately after the other, thus directing the attention of every reader to them. St Paul also uses them consecutively, but not immediately one after the other. Here also, however, these two words in one sentence are not necessary since leaving out one or other of them would not change the sense, beyond stressing the unceasing remembrance in prayers, which was probably the concern of both authors. Thus it is just this unnecessary arrangement of two words with the same meaning in the same sentence, and furthermore the fact that one of these two words is

<sup>14</sup> Romans i, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Ephesians i, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Philemon. iv.

<sup>17</sup> Timothy i, 3. Here also may be recalled the encouragement to prayer at the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians (vi, 18).

<sup>18</sup> This word is only used in (besides I Maccabees): Metrodorus (Papyrus Herculensis 831, ed. A. Körte, *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Suppl. XVII, Leipzig, 1890); Polemo Historicus 30 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* III, Paris, p. 124); Polybius 9, 3, 8 (668) (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Leipzig, 1893, p. 4. Posidonius, 25 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* III, Paris, 1853, p. 261) and in the papyrus 1166, 6, from London (ed. F. G. Kenyon-H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. III, London, 1893 ss.).

seldom used,<sup>19</sup> besides other points of similarity, i.e., the same thought and the same phrases mentioned above, that is an indication for us that St Paul had read I Macc. and that the phrase which stuck in his memory would be repeated in almost the same words.

Surveying the similarities and differences of these few expressions which have helped us to prove the dependence of St Paul on I Macc., we cannot fail to remark that the differences may easily be explained without reference to the Hebrew. Besides the similarities which we have already discussed, attention should further be drawn to the fact that the word derived from δέομαι in our text is only met with once, and then only after προσευχαί in the quotation from the epistle to the Romans, but just where in I Macc. there is a similar expression ὡς δέον ἐστι.

This slight observation after all we have hitherto discussed especially relating to the word ἀδιαλείπτως and its position beside πάντοτε, is for us one more indication that St Paul did not translate afresh from the Hebrew but read the Greek text of I Macc. in the translation which we now possess. He had read this before he wrote the first epistle to the Thessalonians, i.e. at the beginning of his first stay in Corinth, which probably took place in A.D. 51.

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<sup>19</sup> St Paul uses the general word ἀδιαλείπτως, four times, and ἀδιάλειπτον twice.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS

## INTRODUCTORY

This bibliography is intended to supplement that compiled by Fr C. Lattey, S.J., and published in *SCRIPTURE*, I (1946), pp. 38-41. It comprises works and articles published since 1946, and other material—chiefly articles—not included in the previous list. Owing to the amount of matter, it has been thought advisable to re-arrange the sections.

### (1) NEW TESTAMENT (GENERAL)

1. *The New Testament in the Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures. Small edition.* Ed. by C. Lattey, S.J. Sands, 1948. 10s. 6d.
2. *The New Testament: Douay Version.* With notes by Canon J. P. Arendzen. Sheed and Ward, 1947. 6s.
3. J. Crehan, S.J.: *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed.* B.O.W., 1950. 10s. 6d.
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5. C. Lattey, S.J. : *'I came not to destroy, but to fulfil'* (Matt. v, 17). Scripture, V (1952), p. 50.
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8. W. Rees : *Archelaus, the Son of Herod* (Matt. ii). Scripture, IV (1951), p. 348.
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10. T. Worden: *How to reconcile Matt. xii, 30 with Mark ix, 39*. Scripture, V (1952), p. 70.
11. R. Dyson and B. Leeming, s.j.: 'Except it be for fornication'. *A note on Matt. xix, 3-12*. Clergy Review, XX (1941), p. 283.
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2. Card. J. MacRory: (i) *The Authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts*. Irish Theological Quarterly, II (1907), p. 190. (ii) *Harnack and St Luke's Historical Authority*. Ibid., p. 317.
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## (g) THE BLESSED VIRGIN

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2. Fr Peter, O.F.M.CAP.: *When did Our Lady know she was Mother of God?* Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXVII (1946), p. 145.
3. H. Pope, O.P.: *Our Lady and the Divinity of Christ*. Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXVI (1945), p. 100.
4. E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J.: (i) *Our Lady's Knowledge of the Divinity of Christ*. Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXVI (1945), p. 427. (ii) *Against Our Lady's Knowledge of Our Lord's Divinity*. Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXVIII (1946), p. 123.

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2. H. V. Gill, s.j. : *St Joseph—a short life based on the Gospels*. Gill, 1946. 3s.
3. D. O'Shea : (i) *How old was St Joseph?* Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXV (1945), p. 173. (ii) *The Economic Status of St Joseph*. Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXVII (1946), p. 171.
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5. Canon C. J. Ryan : *Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals*. Eighth ed. Browne and Nolan, 1924.
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7. T. MacDonald : *The Homilies of the Breviary as a Commentary on the Gospels*. Clergy Review, XXIV (1944), p. 254.

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1. E. Graf, O.S.B. : *In Christ's Own Country*. B.O.W., 1937.
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3. P. Kinsel, O.F.M. and L. Henry, O.F.M. : *The Catholic Shrines of the Holy Land*. Cassell, 1952. 21s.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Joseph and Jesus* by Francis L. Filas, S.J. Pp. 179 (Bruce Publishing Company) \$3.50

This is not, at least primarily, a work of devotion; the sub-title is: 'A Theological Study of their Relationship', and it is in strictly scientific style that the author sets about his task.

He analyses his sources in a series of chapters devoted to Scripture (commendably brief; not much is said, and it is idle to speculate on what the evangelists might have said had they thought of it); the Fathers, Medieval Theologians, seventeenth century opinion, and finally the documents of the Church. In addition to a number of points the relevance of which is not apparent at the time, the main points emerge—St Joseph is in some true sense the father of our Lord, his marriage to our Lady is a true marriage, and that marriage is virginal.

The most interesting part of the book, however, is the chapter containing the author's own argumentation: 'Towards a Full Concept of the Fatherhood'. It is only now that we begin to see the importance of many details which have been treated of in the previous pages, and indeed the point of the whole book. (Perhaps a fuller statement of the problem at the beginning might have helped; this 'detective story' method—throwing out hints and clues all along the road, but leaving the explanation of their import till the end—may possibly be thought to assist the interest, but it certainly detracts from the clarity). The whole book might be taken to be much ado about very little, until we realize what the problem is. St Joseph is father of our Lord in some essential way: not merely because he exercises paternal care and protection over Him; not merely because he is accounted the legal father (his genealogy being accredited as our Lord's); not merely because he exercises parental authority over the Child (not even by the express command of God, when the angel gave St Joseph authority to name the Child). All these titles are extrinsic, and are the result rather than the cause of his position. He is father in some way short of generation, but more than mere adoption. The Child not only belongs to the marriage, but is in some way the fruit of the marriage. How? What does St Joseph contribute to the Incarnation? He is, says Fr Filas, the positive moral cause. Our Lord made himself subject to the natural law, as far as possible, when he decided to become man; but it is part of the natural law that children should enter this world as members of a family; therefore St Joseph's consent to the marriage was a cause of the Incarnation; and further, by consenting to a virginal marriage, he implicitly accepted any children which should come to the marriage without detriment to that virginity. Therefore he is the real father of our Lord because he is the real husband of our Lady who is the real mother of the Incarnate Word.

The argument is well sustained, and seems convincing as far as it goes. But one is tempted to ask for more. For example, more than once the Fathers seem to imply that it is specifically the virginity of St Joseph which is the cause of his position, and that in a sense even deeper than that accepted by the author: for instance, St Augustine: 'Tanto firmitus pater, quanto castius pater'. Similarly, one would like an even more detailed examination of the idea of paternity, and the relationship of St Joseph's position to that of God the Father. This again is an idea which recurs in tradition, and it seems a little summary to dismiss it, as does Fr Filas, as a legitimate analogy, but rather dangerous. In particular, therefore, one would have expected some discussion of the two great texts of Ephesians (iii, 14 and v, 32), which tell us to look for a definition of paternity and of marriage, not to philosophy, but to their divine prototypes. These texts may not be decisive, may in fact present only negative results; but at least one might expect them to be mentioned.

But this may seem ungrateful criticism of a book which has already carried the consideration of St Joseph's position much further than most. In so doing, he has made a contribution not only to theology, but to a devotion which is too often forgotten.

L. JOHNSTON.

*The New Eve* by J. H. Newman. Pp. 96 (Newman Bookshop) 3s.

It might seem a little late in the day for a new book by Cardinal Newman to appear; but it is an excellent idea to select from the multitude of his writings a volume that can be easily assimilated, particularly his treatment of a subject which otherwise might escape our attention; one does not, in fact, usually think of Newman as a 'mariologist' and it comes as something of a surprise, and certainly a very great pleasure, to find how much he has said on her. The idea is good, the choice is good, and the introduction is excellent—giving with admirable simplicity some idea of the contents, plus a word on the style, which should be useful to those not versed in Newman.

Most of the book is taken up with the first article, entitled 'Catholic Belief in Our Lady', from a letter to Pusey which was printed in 'Difficulties of Anglicans'. In an introduction to this, Newman distinguishes between faith and devotion: the doctrine concerning our Lady is essentially the same now as it was in the very earliest days of the Church; but devotion may well vary in development, in degree, in manifestation. This is typically Newman—not content with the bare statement of the principle, he illustrates it with example after example, from literature, from science, from history, from philosophy. The language too is typical: speaking of the variation in devotional practices, he says: 'agreeing, as it were, to differ, they pursue independently a common end, and, by paths, distinct but converging, present themselves

before God'; and again, he explains the late development of devotion to such important persons as our Lady and St Joseph by pointing out that they were too close to our Lord, 'lost in the effulgence of His glory'.

Then he turns to apologetic: a model of apologetic, firm, careful never wanting in politeness to his adversary, never wanting in justice to his arguments, but unfailing in driving home his point. In particular, it is a model of the way in which the fathers should be used. That is accepted ground between him and his opponents. He proposes therefore, to show that they held the doctrine that our Lady is the second Eve. He first of all analyses what such a parallel would imply; then quotes Justin, Tertullian and Irenaeus to show that they did in fact accept these implications; then discusses the value of their witness; and draws out the conclusion as it affects first the sanctity of our Lady, and then her dignity. Nor does he ignore the point that there are dissentient voices among the fathers—a long note at the end of the treatise deals with the few fathers who seem to imply that our Lady was not sinless, with the conclusion that they do not represent apostolic tradition. Then he deals with our Lady as Mother of God, and finally as intercessor.

The next section of this treatise deals with devotion to our Lady. The main point is that devotion to her is natural, even in its extravagances. But what a wealth of thought in the considerations with which this idea is surrounded: life involves growth, growth involves death: religion always corrupts: theology uses logic and baffles it—good sense and a large view of truth are the correctives of logic. And what continual delight in his language: when he speaks, for example, of his opponents' neglect of the Fathers: 'they open the attack upon our modern writers, careless of leaving a host of primitive opponents in their rear'; or when he compares the extravagances of devotion to 'the thousand foolish things . . . which are not unwelcome to the parties to whom they are addressed . . . but present a melancholy exhibition when served up cold for the public eye'; or of these deep feelings being made into an exercise, 'as repulsive as love-letters in a police-report'.

This letter to Pusey is full of deep thought and careful reasoning, presented in a way which cannot fail to charm us: no weapon is unused, argument *ad hominem*, from Scripture, the Fathers, and from reason; and accompanied by a wealth of illustration that fills us continually with admiration for the richness of his mind.

Two sermons follow, from the Discourses to Mixed Congregations. The same qualities are here apparent; the language is dignified but forceful (though the illustration is more restricted to Scripture), the thought clearly and attractively expressed. Just as the previous essay is a model of apologetic, so this is in many ways a model for sermons, devotion being solidly founded on doctrine, and the doctrine naturally and easily connected with devotion.

For personal spiritual reading, for instruction on the doctrine concerning our Lady, for instruction on methods of expressing it, even, perhaps, as a source for sermons, this little book cannot fail to be of use.

L. JOHNSTON.

*Les Sept Jours* (Genèse i) by Dom Thierry Maertens, Abbaye de Saint-André, Burges, 1951. Pp. 74. Price not stated.

This commentary is based on the assumption that Genesis i is of recent date (after the return from the Exile), and is the work of a priestly redactor. The clue to its meaning, in Dom Maertens' view, is to be found in the redactor's use of terms already fixed in liturgical usage or forming part of the vocabulary of election. Thus, the lights (*me'orot*) and seasons (*mo adim*) invite us to see in the fifth work of creation, God, the supreme Levite kindling the lamps which are to illumine the terrestrial liturgy of His universal Temple. The divine command to the earth to 'bring forth the green herb, etc.' is in reality an extension to the whole earth of the agrarian blessings promised to Palestine.

Another significant feature of the redaction, is the use of literary themes, in particular that of Darkness-Light, and the victory of Yahweh over the abyss (*Tehom*). Originally myths, these have been transformed in the course of the centuries into literary themes, i.e. symbols of religious truths. The combat theme which Dom Maertens detects in Genesis i, invites us to see in the separation of the abyss from the creation, a mark of God's redemptive plan. It foretells Christ's victory over Hell (the lower waters); and the Apocalypse which takes up again the same theme, here as in other instances, furnishes the fullest commentary of Genesis.

By his use of these clues Dom Maertens is able to discover in Genesis i, not only the theme of the creation, but that of universal redemption. The divine command to animals and men to multiply, a theme recurring in the promises to the Patriarchs, and in the later prophecies regarding the renewal of the remnant, receives its genuine verification in the Church of the Acts (cf. 6, 7: 'the number of the disciples was multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly'). In this way, the multiplication promised in Genesis to men and animals seems to announce the Church.

To grasp fully the religious content of Genesis i, recourse is necessary to the myths of Babylon. Thus, the *Enuma Elish* comes to our aid in explaining the significance of the Biblical separation of the light from the darkness. It relates the dismemberment by triumphant Marduk of the monster Tiamat, and the creation of heaven and earth from the victim's lacerated flesh. As the prize of a combat in which God engaged in order that man might come to be, creation thus prepares the religious soul to understand why God delivered Himself to death in order that man might be born again.

The above is a summary and representative sample of Dom Maertens' methods and conclusions. One might be inclined to think that the postulated progressive purification of the myths and their transformation into literary themes is so much labour lost; since to discover the supposed redemptive significance, the *sensus plenior* of the Biblical text: 'and God separated the light from the darkness' we must go behind it to the grossly polytheistic *Enuma Elish*. Exegesis of this kind appears to have little to recommend it. The text is accompanied by eight full-page illustrations of the Work of Creation of Notre Dame de Chartres.

P. J. MORRIS.

*The Hidden Stream* by Ronald A. Knox. Pp. 220 (Burns Oates, 1952) 16s.

The somewhat cryptic title is explained by the author in the Preface. Like its predecessor of a decade ago: *In Soft Garments*, it is, in effect, a course of apologetics given to Catholic undergraduates at Oxford. The twenty-three Conferences it contains range from 'What is Religion' to 'The Resurrection of the Body'. All the qualities we have learned to expect from the author are here: the deceptively casual style, the fresh and highly personal approach to well-worn themes, the delightfully apt analogy or illustration, the absence of the trite. Although Mgr Knox confesses that these new essays were, for the most part, more laboriously written than those of his earlier course, a personal impression is that they make even easier and pleasanter reading. If apologetic problems at bottom vary little, the emphasis or the point of attack shifts in the course of the years, and this is reflected in Mgr Knox's treatment. Much of the debate between the professional philosophers in recent years on the value of the traditional Five Proofs for God's existence, has, perhaps, only tended to darken counsel for the average man. It is refreshing to read the Monsignor's handling of the same theme. With Divorce so live an issue nowadays, one turns with interest to 'Our Lord's Teaching on Marriage and Divorce'. The author accepts, on the whole, the classical solution of the exegetical crux in Matt. v, 32 and Matt. xix, 9, with the further nuance already suggested in his New Testament note to Matt. xix, 9. Even in the skilled hands of Mgr Knox, the subject does not prove very malleable. The essays on Scriptural themes, e.g. Preparation Evangelica, The Messianic Hope, The New Testament, The Christology of St Paul, are rich in illuminating comment. 'The absence of the phoney' in the New Testament records is well illustrated by a comparison between the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of St Paul. The incidental remarks on the Synoptic Question furnish an excellent example of the author's peculiar skill in investing a rather arid topic with live, human interest. The value of St Paul's witness to Christ as a 'separate strand in the rope which ties us to the certainties of the faith' is admirably suggested. It may be that not all the Conferences will prove equally satisfying

to every reader, but there is none that cannot be read with pleasure and profit. Almost every page contains obiter dicta one is tempted to quote. Could the essentials of the doctrine: *Extra Ecclesiam salus nulla*, be more succinctly stated for the man of to-day, than in the words: 'All the identity discs in heaven are marked R.C.?' *The Hidden Stream* of Mgr Knox provides a stimulating companion to the stereotyped courses of apologetics. Its genial waters may well serve to bring life to their often arid tracts.

P. J. MORRIS.

*Jérémie—Les Lamentations—Baruch.* trad. par A. Gelin. P.S.S. Pp. 310 (Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1951).

A great difficulty which faces any translator of the Book of Jeremias, is indicated by the fact that in this edition (*Bible de Jérusalem*), there are more than 500 notes referring to the text (214 pp.) itself. This difficulty has been increased by the many corrections already proposed to our existing Hebrew Text, some of which are based upon the LXX translation, whilst others are merely conjectural. Indeed the LXX text often presents a clearer reading, at least according to our way of thinking. Here great caution is, however, advisable! For the semitic mind is not used to sharp distinctions and sometimes makes transitions, which we would never make. We may be embarrassed by an unevenness they did not feel as such. For these very reasons moreover, it is quite possible that in the LXX translation a text has been slightly changed and so lost some of its proper character. I have especially in mind the use of pronouns but it can generally be applied to other corrections. Therefore the use of the LXX to correct our Hebrew Text, although justified in some cases, requires careful consideration. Such consideration is all the more necessary in the case of a mere conjecture!

Some of the corrections made in this present edition are open to discussion; a few examples for instance are: XXIII, 1 '*mon paturage*' could have been retained; the same can be said regarding XLII, 4 '*Y. vous répondra*' (Here the correction is a pure conjecture!) and also '*notre Dieu*' after Yahweh in XLIII, 2. The translator, however, constantly gives an account of the different readings and so the reader is able to choose at his own discretion. A reference to the omission of '*filis du roi*' both in XXXVI, 26 and XXXVIII, 6 has probably been overlooked.

It is the actual form of the Book with its peculiarities, which affords a welcome opportunity for scholars to illustrate *the growth* of our Biblical Books, a tendency which finds favour amongst us nowadays. Gelin<sup>1</sup> does not fail to seize this opportunity as one can see in the introduction (17 pp.) to the Book in question. The conclusion that the Book as we have it now, was not composed at once, but is the result of a long process,

<sup>1</sup> Other publications of Gelin, mentioned in SCRIPTURE, see III, 83-4; IV, 63.



can be deduced not only from its literary criticism (pp. 19-20) but also from the events related in chap. xxxvi, especially from what is said in verse 32 (p. 21).

A detailed comparison between our Hebrew Text and the LXX is already instructive. The LXX is one-eighth shorter; possibly this shorter text represents the size of the original one. A considerable number of doublets can be seen in both texts. A difference in sequence too can be noticed. The oracles against the nations are placed after XXV, 13 in the LXX but in our Hebrew Text at the end of the Book. Their place in the LXX is certainly original but their mutual sequence is primitive in the Hebrew Text.

A close examination of our Hebrew Text is particularly revealing. A number of 'interpolations, additions et surcharges' can be found. Some passages (9 in all), written in a peculiar style, represent possibly an adaptation of Jeremias' preaching and an enlargement of the same for the reading in the synagogues during the exile. This still remains a point of discussion amongst scholars which Gelin prefers to leave in abeyance. The lack of strict sequence in the chronological indications (22 in all) has its value too. Finally, three principal literary forms which alternate one with another, namely the oracular matter, the biographical and the autobiographical passages, are a great help in tracing the history of the formation of the Book.

This history is given in the last paragraph of the introduction (pp. 20-23). The oracular matter can be divided according to the facts told in chap. xxxvi. The first scroll was made in 605-604 and therefore contained only the oracles pronounced before that time. Moreover, the verses 2-4 provide other criteria so that the contents of this first scroll can in all probability be determined. Its oracular matter concerned only Juda, Jerusalem and all the nations and was of menacing character. Therefore all which does not fit in with this character ('promises, confessions, wisdom') or regards only particular circles ('kings, prophets') must be excluded.

The end of verse 32 gives more information: 'many words of the same kind were added'. Gelin observes that no mention is made about those who made the additions, nor about the intensity of this process. Baruch must certainly be considered first. This verse (32) refers definitely to the oracles of a menacing character pronounced after 605-604 and probably also to some stories of a like character, which Baruch knew from the Prophet himself. Possibly he added after 587 the booklets against the kings and against the prophets. The 'confessions' of Jeremias, written on separate leaflets, became a part of the Book after his death, having been gathered by Baruch with care. Not only was this collecting—work due to Baruch; but he himself had his own memoirs, regarding especially the sufferings of the Prophet, namely the biographical passages written in the third person.

Before the final formation of the Book which was undoubtedly made in Babylonia towards the end of the exile, many copies of Baruch's work, not necessarily complete, had probably arrived there already from Egypt via Jerusalem. Some separate booklets were in circulation, for instance a message to the exiles, a booklet of consolation. At the time of the final formation some passages useful for the spiritual life of the Jewish community were added. The final form of the Book had the classical sequence which we find in Isaiah and Ezekiel: prophecies against Juda, against the nations and prophecies of happiness. This sequence has been preserved in the LXX. A fourth part contained the sufferings of Jeremias and is mainly biographical. An appendix shows the realization of Jeremias' prophecies (chap. lii).

Thus Gelin tries to put each passage into its proper historical situation and at the same time gives an explanation as to its place in the actual text. More than 500 explanatory notes form a precious help for a good understanding of the texts. Some of them are especially fitting for applying the valuable introduction to particular passages; others—and this was a very good idea—explain several Hebrew words which cannot adequately be translated into our modern languages, whilst others give a detailed analysis of some very intricate passages.

A few words regarding Lamentations (text 31 pp.; critical notes 55; explan. notes 66) and Baruch (text 20 pp.; critical notes 8; explan. notes 58) should be added.

In the introduction to the former (5 pp.) an interesting description of their literary form is given (pp. 245–47) and the authorship of Jeremias is discussed (pp. 248–49). Gelin is in favour of a negative answer regarding Jeremias; they were composed at Jerusalem and the collection was made there for the remembrance of the great disasters of the siege. The introduction to the latter is very short (3 pp.) but on the same high level as the others. The Book of Baruch is well analysed and each part is put into its proper setting due especially to a comparison with other parts of the Bible as are for instance Neh. ix and Dan. ix, Eccli. xxiv and xxxvi. A final remark emphasises the great influence of Jeremias amongst the Jews in the dispersion, for his name—or the name of his secretary—was connected with the literature, which originated there.

This edition of the *Bible de Jérusalem*, apart from a few misprints in references and some corrections already discussed in the beginning, provides French readers with a good translation<sup>2</sup> as well as useful notes and forms especially by its introductions a valuable contribution to the already existing volumes.

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<sup>2</sup> The translation of the Hebrew verb in XIV, 4 by 'se découvrent la tête' does not agree with the meaning usually found in the dictionaries. Both Gesenius (1921) and Koehler (1949) give: to cover (se couvrent la tête). The verb does not occur in Ez. xxiv, 17. Again some proper names, although the same in Hebrew, are transcribed in a different way, cf. xxxii, 12; xxxvi, 4; li, 59.

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